

THE
GENUINE ACCOUNT
OF THE
T R I A L
OF
EUGENE ARAM, *K*
For the MURDER of
DANIEL CLARK,

Late of KNARESBROUGH in the County of YORK.

Who was convicted at York Assizes, *August 3, 1759*, before the Honourable WILLIAM NOEL, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

To which, after a short Narration of the Fact, is prefixed,
An Account of the remarkable Discovery of a Human Skeleton at *Philips-Hill*: A Detail of all the Judicial Proceedings from the Time of the Bones being found, to the Commitment of *Richard Houseman*, *Eugene Aram*, and *Henry Terry* to York Castle: The Depositions of *Anna Aram*, *Philip Coates*, *John Yates*, &c. The Examination and Confession of *Richard Houseman*: The Apprehending of *Eugene Aram*, at *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*: With his Examination and Commitment.

To which are added,
The remarkable DEFENCE he made on his Trial: His own Account of himself, written after his Condemnation: With the APOLOGY, which he left in his Cell, for the Attempt he made on his own Life; and his Plan for a Lexicon, some Pieces of Poetry, &c.

All taken immediately from the Original Depositions, Papers, and the Manuscripts of E. ARAM.

The SIXTH EDITION.

Y O R K :

Printed by C. ETHERINGTON, Bookseller in the Pavement;
And sold by E. HARGROVE, *Knaresbrough*.

[Price ONE SHILLING.]

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P R E F A C E.

IF an apology were necessary for the republication of the trial of this extraordinary person at this time, it need only be observed, that the former editions of it are all sold, and that frequent application is made for it to the booksellers'. To render the present edition more acceptable to the public, the editor hath subjoined a few authentic letters, written by Eugene Aram during his confinement in the Castle of York, carefully printed from his own MS. which, while they authenticate a defence perhaps the most remarkable that ever was made in a court of judicature, by a person in his situation and circumstances, they at the same time are no improper introduction to the specimens of his literary abilities.

The trial for this long-concealed murder was expected to come on during the Lenten Assizes, in the year 1759, prior to which Eugene Aram wrote to several gentlemen, whom he
A claimed

claimed as his former acquaintance, requesting their appearance at his trial to speak in behalf of his character, &c.—The following letter is selected, which he addressed to a gentleman at Ripon.

YORK, March 1st, 1759.

“ S I R,

“ I know not whether after such a length
 “ of time, such a distance of place, such, and
 “ so many accusations heaped upon me, I yet
 “ possess that part in your esteem, which,
 “ I flatter myself, I formerly had, and was
 “ proud of. For, as I have been prosecuted
 “ with much accrimony, and represented with
 “ so much malevolence, prejudice has infect-
 “ ed some, though I least suspect its influence
 “ on you, whose share of reason and penetra-
 “ tion, I have known too long and too well,
 “ to think, you can ever look upon the in-
 “ vidious reports of my enemies as truths.
 “ Upon this supposition I write, and in this
 “ confidence of your good wishes to me, en-
 “ treat, that you would come at my trial
 “ which will begin here the 5th or 6th of
 “ March, to speak in support of my charac-
 “ ter, as to what you know, and so far as is
 “ honest and right; which surely, as it will
 “ be a favour of so great importance to me,
 “ and to you no extraordinary trouble or ex-
 pence,

“ pence, I need not despair of from you. For
“ ever since I was capable of thought and re-
“ flexion, I always heard and saw the name
“ of B—— with pleasure. And if any
“ other services are in your power, which
“ from your present consideration in the
“ world, and the number of your friends,
“ may be considerable, and which may not
“ now occur to me, pray, forget not him,
“ who is as he has always been,

“ Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ E. A R A M.

“ P. S. I am promised the act of friend-
“ ship, I have solicited from you, from
“ some in Netherdale, and Dalla-
“ gill, &c. and should be glad of the
“ concurrence of any from Ripon with
“ them. Mr. H—— I hear, saw a
“ person at Gaunt answering the descrip-
“ tion of Clark in the advertisement.
“ If he will come, through regard to
“ your application, which I beg of you,
“ he might be a serviceable evidence. I
“ desire a line by the return of Burnet,
“ the waggoner.”

Whether any of the gentlemen to whom he
wrote would have interested themselves in his
favour

favour at the Lenten Assizes, does not appear, his trial being at that time (on account of the prosecutor's not being sufficiently provided with evidence against him) postponed to the ensuing Lammas Assizes, when he was arraigned, and, on the evidence of Houseman, convicted of the murder of Daniel Clark, as will be seen at large in the following pages..

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A Full and Genuine
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
Murder of DANIEL CLARK,
Of Knarefbrough;
With the **L I F E,** &c. of
E U G E N E A R A M.

DANIEL CLARK was born in Knarefbrough, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoemaker. We shall pass over those things in his life which do not regard the affair we treat of, and content ourselves with observing, that, in or about the month of January, 1744-5, he married a wife with a fortune of 200l. or upwards; and being then in very good credit in Knarefbrough, it is presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a schoolmaster in that town, and Richard Houseman, a flaxdresser, to defraud several persons of great quantities of goods and plate, and that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for, as he then lived in very good credit, and was lately married, he was the pro-
B perest

perest person for the intended purpose: Accordingly Clark, for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresbrough, and took up great quantities of linen and woollendrapery goods, under pretence, that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only cloaths to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed-linen; in which he succeeded so well, that he got goods of that kind to a considerable amount. After this, he went to several innkeepers, and others, desiring to borrow a silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alledging that he was to have company that night, and should be glad of the use of them that night at supper: And, in order to give a colour to this his story, he got of the innkeepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors*: This was on the 7th of February, 1744-5.

Some suspicious circumstances appearing that night and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon inquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him. Search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the goods were found at Houseman's, and another

* Among other goods, he got the following, viz. Three silver tankards; four silver pints; one silver milk-pot; one ring, set with an emerald, and two brilliant diamonds; another with three rose diamonds; a third with an amethyst in the shape of a heart, and six plain rings; eight watches; two snuff-boxes; Chambers's Dictionary, two vols. folio; Pope's Homer, six vols. bound,

part

part thereof, as some velvets, &c. was dug up in Aram's garden; but, as no plate was found, it was then concluded Clark was gone off with that: Upon which the strictest inquiry was made after him, by sending people out into several parts, and advertising him in the public papers, &c. but all to no purpose.

From the above circumstances, Aram was suspected of being an accomplice with Clark; upon which a process was granted, from the Steward of the Honour of Knaresbrough, to arrest him for a debt due to one Mr. Norton, which was done with a view to detain Aram until such time as a warrant could be had from a Justice of Peace, to take him up for being concerned along with Clark, in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Contrary to the expectation of every person in town, he (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced a large sum of money, and in a few days paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his release he left the town of Knaresbrough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresbrough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered, touching Clark's being murdered, until the 1st of August, 1758, (which was upwards of thirteen years from the time of Clark's being missing) when

it happened that a labourer, employed in digging for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-hill, near Knaresbrough, having, at the edge of the cliff, dug about half a yard, and half a quarter deep, found an arm-bone, and the small bone of the leg of an human skeleton. In digging forward, he discovered all the rest of the bones belonging to the body, which, by the position of it, seemed to have been put in double, as the bones were all entire. This remarkable accident being rumoured in the town of Knaresbrough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered and buried there; and the rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for sixty years and upwards. The strangeness of the event excited people's curiosity to inquire strictly into it: Upon which the Coroner was sent for, and an inquisition taken thereon. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, was now examined by the Coroner and the jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark. She said, " Daniel Clark was an intimate acquaintance of " her husband's; and that they had frequent trans- " actions together before the 8th of February, " 1744-5. and that Richard Houselman was often " with them: Particularly, That, on the 7th of " February, 1744-5, about six o'clock in the " evening, Aram came home when she was " washing in the kitchen; upon which he directed " her to put out the fire, and make one above " stairs: She accordingly did so. About two " o'clock

“ o'clock in the morning on the 8th of February,
 “ Aram, Clark, and Houseman, came to Aram's
 “ house, and went up stairs to the room where
 “ she was: They staid about an hour. Her hus-
 “ band asked her for a handkerchief for Dickey
 “ (meaning Richard Houseman) to tie about his
 “ head: She accordingly lent him one. Then
 “ Clark said, *It will soon be morning, and we*
 “ *must get off.* After which, Aram, Houseman
 “ and Clark all went out together: That, upon
 “ Clark's going out she observed him take a sack
 “ or wallet upon his back, which he carried along
 “ with him: Whither they went she could not
 “ tell. That about five o'clock the same morning,
 “ her husband and Houseman returned, and Clark
 “ did not come with them. Her husband came
 “ up stairs, and desired to have a candle, that he
 “ might make a fire below. To which she ob-
 “ jected, and said, *there was no occasion for two*
 “ *fires, as there was a good one in the room above,*
 “ *where she then was.* To which Aram, her hus-
 “ band, answered, Dickey (meaning Richard
 “ Houseman) *was below, and did not chuse to*
 “ *come up stairs:* Upon which she asked (Clark
 “ not returning with them) *What they had done*
 “ *with Daniel?* To this her husband gave no an-
 “ swer; but desired her to go to bed, which she
 “ refused; and told him, *They had been doing*
 “ *something bad.* Then Aram went down with
 “ the candle. She being desirous to know what
 “ her husband and Houseman were doing, and
 “ being about to go down stairs, she heard House-
 “ man say to Aram, *she is coming.* Her husband
 “ replied,

“ replied, *We'll not let her.* Houseman then said,
 “ *If she does, she'll tell. What can she tell?*
 “ replies Aram, *poor simple thing! She knows*
 “ *nothing.* To which Houseman said, *If she tells*
 “ *that I am here, 'twill be enough.* Her husband
 “ then said, *I will hold the door to prevent her*
 “ *from coming.* Whereupon Houseman said,
 “ *Something must be done to prevent her telling,*
 “ and pressed him to it very much; and said, *If*
 “ *she does not tell now, she may at some other*
 “ *time.* No, said her husband, *We will coax her*
 “ *a little until her passion be off, and then take an*
 “ *opportunity to shoot her:* Upon which, House-
 “ man seemed satisfied and said, *What must be*
 “ *done with her clothes?* Whereupon they both
 “ agreed, that they would let her lie where she
 “ was shot in her clothes. She hearing this dis-
 “ course, was much terrified, but remained quiet,
 “ until near seven o'clock in the same morning,
 “ when Aram and Houseman went out of the
 “ house. Upon which, Mrs. Aram coming
 “ down stairs, and seeing there had been a fire
 “ below, and all the ashes taken from out of the
 “ grate, she went and examined the dunghill;
 “ and perceiving ashes of a different kind to lie
 “ upon it, she searched amongst them, and found
 “ several pieces of linen and woollen cloth, very
 “ near burnt, which had the appearance of be-
 “ longing to wearing apparel. When she re-
 “ turned into the house from the dunghill, she
 “ found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman
 “ the night before; and looking at it, found some
 “ blood upon it, about the size of a shilling: Up-
 “ on

" on which she immediately went to Houseman,
 " and shewed him the pieces of cloth she had
 " found; and said, *she was afraid they had done*
 " *something bad to Clark.* But Houseman, then
 " pretended he was a stranger to her accusation,
 " and said, *he new nothing what she meant.* From
 " the above circumstances, she believes Daniel
 " Clark to have been murdered by Richard House-
 " man and Eugene Aram, on the 8th of Februa-
 " ry, 1744-5.

Mr. Philip Coates, of Knaresbrough, brother-
 in-law to Daniel Clark, was then examined by
 the Coroner; who said, " He knew Daniel Clark
 " from a child; and that he was with him on the
 " 7th of February, 1744-5, about nine o'clock at
 " night, and that Clark promised to call upon him
 " in the morning: But he not calling, he went
 " to Clark's house, about nine o'clock in the
 " morning. After inquiring for him there, Clark's
 " maid told him he was gone to Newall to his
 " wife. On the 10th of February, Mr. Coates
 " went to Newall to seek Clark, but could not
 " hear of him, nor ever did, tho' he had been
 " advertised for some time. That a week or ten
 " days before Clark was missing, he received a
 " large sum of money; and that no money was
 " remaining at his house after he was missing."

Several other witnesses were examined by the
 Coroner, affirming Eugene Aram, and Richard
 Houseman, to be the last persons seen with Clark,
 especially on the night of the 7th of February,
 1744-5

1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which, to avoid repetition, will be shown at large when we come upon the trial. We shall only add that of Mr. John Yeates, a barber in Knaresbrough, who said: " He knew Daniel Clark, and the last time " he saw him, was then about thirteen or fourteen years ago, and that he had been missing " ever since. Some time after which, as he, " Mr. Yeates, was going over Thistle-hill, near " the Rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug " and oblong; he presumed it might contain a " boy of about twelve years of age; that he had " seen the place where the bones of a deceased " man were found, and said it was the same he " saw so fresh dug up."

Barbara Leetham, of Knaresbrough, widow, gave in the same kind of evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock, of Knaresbrough, Surgeons, upon breaking a thigh-bone of the skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion that the body might have lain in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

These testimonies were given before the inquest in the manner related, and Houseman, by the Coroner's order, being present, it was observed that he seem'd very uneasy; discovering all the signs of guilt, such as trembling, turning pale, and faltering in his speech: This, with the strong circumstances given by Mrs. Aram, &c. gave

gave a suspicion that he must have been concerned in the murder of Clark, though he gave no account of the matter, and denied that he knew any thing concerning the murder.

Upon the skeleton's being produced, Houselman, at the Coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and, in his confusion, dropp'd this unguarded expression, *This is no more Dan Clark's bone than it is mine!* From which it was concluded, that if Houselman was so certain that the bones before him were not Dan Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so, he answered, " That he could produce a witness who " had seen Daniel Clark upon the road, two or three " days after he was missing at Knaresbrough." Accordingly the witness (one Parkinson) was sent for; who, on being asked the question, told the Coroner and the Jury, " That he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the " 8th of February, 1744-5; that a friend of his " (Parkinson's) told him he had met a person " like Daniel Clark; but, as it was a snowy day, " and the person had the cape of his great-coat " up, he could not say, with the least degree of " certainty, who he was."

This so far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houselman was either the murderer of Clark, or an accomplice in the murder: Whereupon the constable applied to William Thornton, Esq; who, being informed from the Coroner, of the depositions taken, granted them a warrant

warrant to apprehend Houselman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: Here he said, " He was in company
 " with Daniel Clark the night before he went off,
 " which he believes might be on a Thursday, in
 " February, 1744-5; that the reason of his being then with him, was, upon account of some
 " money (viz. 20l.) that he had lent Clark, which
 " he wanted to get again of him, and for which
 " he then gave him some goods that took up a
 " considerable time in carrying from Daniel Clark's
 " house to his, viz. from eleven (the hour at
 " which he went to Clark) till some time the
 " next morning: That the goods he took, were
 " leather, and some linen-cloth, which, as soon
 " as he had possessed himself of, and also a note
 " of the prices he was to sell them at, he left
 " Clark in Aram's house, with Aram and another
 " man, unknown to this examinant: Who further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately
 " after, followed him out of Aram's house, and
 " went into the market-place with the other unknown person, which the light of the moon
 " enabled him to see; that he does not know
 " what became of them after: And utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house that
 " morning with Aram and without Clark, as is asserted by Mrs. Aram, nor was he with Aram, but with Clark at Aram's house that night,
 " whither he went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the note as above; that when he
 " had lodged the goods he had got at Clark's
 " house safely in his own, he went to seek Clark,
 " found

found him at Aram's with the unknown person, and after having procur'd the note, which was his errand, came away directly, as was related. He further saith, That he did not see Clark take any wallet, plate, or things of value along with him when they came out of the house the last time, which was early in the morning. But admits, that, some time after Clark was missing, Anna Aram came to him in a passion, and demanded money of him, and said he had money of her husband's in his hands, and pretended to shew him some shreds of cloth, and ask'd, if he knew what they were? To which he answer'd, that he did not know. And entirely denies that he ever has been charged with the murder of Daniel Clark, till now by Anna Aram."

Being ask'd, if he chose to sign this examination? he said, " he chose to wave it for the present; for he might have something to add, and therefore desired to have time to consider of it."

As he chose not to sign this examination; it was presumed that he was conscious he had not declared the truth of the matter, and Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him to York Castle the morning following. At Greenhammerton, in the road to York, he behaved to his conductors in such a manner as to shew that he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it, and that he was desirous of making a more ample confession on their

their arrival at York. Being come to the Minster in Micklegate, they were acquainted that Mr. Thornton was then passing by; Houseman desired he might be called into the house, and in his presence made the following confession:

“ That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene
 “ Aram, late of Knaresbrough, a school-master,
 “ and, as he believes, on Friday the 8th of Fe-
 “ bruary, 1744-5, for that Eugene Aram and Da-
 “ niel Clark were together at Aram’s house early
 “ that morning, (being moon-light, and snow up-
 “ on the ground) and that he (Houseman) left the
 “ house and went up the street a little before,
 “ and they called to him, desiring he would go a
 “ short way with them, and he accordingly went
 “ along with them to a place called St. Robert’s
 “ Cave, near Grimble-bridge, where Aram and
 “ Clark stopped, and there he saw Aram strike
 “ him several times over the breast and head, and
 “ saw him fall as if he was dead, upon which he
 “ came away and left them. But whether Aram
 “ used any weapon or not to kill Clark he could
 “ not tell; nor does he know what he did with
 “ the body afterwards; but believes that Aram
 “ left it at the mouth of the cave; for that, see-
 “ ing Aram do this, lest he might share the same
 “ fate he made the best of his way from him, and
 “ got to the bridge end; where, looking back,
 “ he saw Aram coming from the cave side (which
 “ is in a private rock adjoining the river) and
 “ could discern a bundle in his hand, but did not
 “ know what it was; upon this he hastened away to
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" the town, without either joining Aram, or see-
" ing him again till the next day, and from that
" time to this he never had any private discourse
" with him. Afterwards, however, Houseman
" said that Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's
" Cave, and that he was sure it was then there,
" but desired it might remain till such time as
" Aram should be taken. He added further,
" that Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn
" at the entrance of the cave." These words
Houseman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker,
the Constable*.

On Houseman's commitment to the Castle, pro-
per persons were appointed to examine St. Ro-
bert's Cave; where, agreeable to his confession,
was found the skeleton of a human body, the head
lying as he before had said; upon which an inqui-
sition was taken by the Coroner.

Houseman having thus declared that Clark was
murdered by Aram, who, upon inquiry, was found
to be at Lynn, in Norfolk, Mr. Thornton, issued
his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr.
John Barker, and Mr. Francis Moor, the Consta-
bles of Knaresbrough, to Sir John Turner, a Ju-
stice of Peace in Lynn. On their arrival there
they waited on this gentleman, who indorsed the

* This confession Mr. Thornton gave to Houseman to read
over; and, after he had so done, Mr. Thornton asked him
if he chose to sign it; to which he consented; replying, That
it was the truth, and the real truth. Upon which he was
committed to the Castle.

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warrant;

warrant; and Aram was apprehended in a school
 where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire.
 Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined,
 he confessed, " That he was well acquainted
 " with Daniel Clark; and to the best of his re-
 " membrance, it was about, or before, the 8th
 " of February, 1744-5; but utterly denied he had
 " any connection with him in those frauds which
 " Clark stood charged with at or before the time
 " of his disappearance, which might be about the
 " 10th of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram)
 " was arrested by process for debt: That, during
 " the time of his being in custody, he first heard
 " that Clark was missing: That, after his release,
 " he was apprehended by a warrant from a Justice
 " of Peace for a misdemeanor; but appearing be-
 " fore the Justice, and the charge not being made
 " out against him, he was dismissed: After this
 " he continued at Knaresbrough a considerable time,
 " without any molestation; and then he removed
 " to Nottingham, to spend a few days with his
 " relations; from whence he went to London.
 " There he resided publicly till he came down to
 " Lynn, which was about seven months before he
 " was arrested by warrant, on suspicion of being
 " concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark. He
 " admits that he might be with Clark in February,
 " 1744-5; but does not recollect that he was at
 " Mr. Carter's, who keeps a public-house in
 " Knaresbrough, with a Jew, Richard Houseman,
 " a flaxdresser, and Daniel Clark, about twelve
 " o'clock at night, on the 7th of February, 1744-5;
 " nor does he recollect he was in company with
 " Clark

“Clark and Houseman, after two o’clock in the
 “morning, at any particular time or place, in Fe-
 “bruary, 1744-5, nor at or after three o’clock in
 “the morning, nor at Grimble-bridge; nor at,
 “or near, a place called St. Robert’s Cave, on the
 “8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning; nor
 “does he know any thing of Clark’s being mur-
 “dered; nor does he recollect that he was with
 “Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon
 “William Tuton, on the 8th of February, 1744-5,
 “in the morning; nor does he remember any
 “thing of a mason’s tool being found in his own
 “house, when he was arrested by a warrant,
 “1744 5; nor does he remember meeting Mr.
 “Barnett, or seeing him in company with the
 “abovesaid persons, the 8th of February, 1744-5,
 “in the morning; nor does he remember that he
 “came home that morning at five o’clock, with
 “Houseman, and made a fire for them in his own
 “house, which is asserted by his wife; nor does
 “he remember that he had so great a sum of mo-
 “ney as fifty guineas about that time, or pulled
 “any such sum out of his pocket; nor did he seek
 “to suborn or ask any one person to say that he
 “had seen Clark since the 8th of February, 1744-5,
 “who really had not seen him; but true it was
 “that he has often made inquiry about him, and
 “particularly his brother Stephen Aram, but does
 “not recollect any other person, except another
 “brother of his, Henry Aram, who has said that
 “he saw him; nor does he know where it was
 “those brothers say they saw him.” The decla-
 ration of other circumstances, and the signing this

examination he chose to wave, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and least any thing should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him.

Though, in this examination, he denies the murder that was charged upon him by Houseman in his confession; yet, notwithstanding, Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him; and thereupon made out his commitment. In obedience to which, Barker and Moor were about to convey him to York Castle, and had taken him a mile from Mr. Thornton's house, when Aram desired to return back to Mr. Thornton, having as he alledged; something of consequence to impart to him. Accordingly they returned to Mr. Thornton's; where Aram, upon being a second time examined, said;
 " That he was at his own house the 7th of February, 1744-5, at night, when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some plate, and both of them went for more several times, and came back with several pieces of plate, of which Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours: That he could not but observe; that Houseman was all that night very diligent to assist him to the utmost of his power, and insisted that this was Houseman's business that night, and not the signing any note or instrument, as is pretended by Houseman. That Henry Terry, then of Knaresbrough, ale-keeper, was as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark; but was not now at Aram's house, because as it was market-

" market-day, his absence from his guests might
 " have occasioned some suspicion: That Terry,
 " notwithstanding, brought two silver tankards
 " that night upon Clark's account, which had been
 " fraudulently obtained: And that Clark so far from
 " having borrowed 20l. of Houseman, to his
 " knowledge never borrowed more than 9l. which
 " he had paid again before that night.

" That all the leather Clark had, which a-
 " mounted to a considerable value, he well knows
 " was concealed under flax in Houseman's house,
 " with intent to be disposed of by little and little,
 " in order to prevent suspicion of his being con-
 " cerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

" That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark
 " and Houseman did the watches, rings, and se-
 " veral small things of value, and carried them into
 " the flat, where they and he (Aram) went to-
 " gether to St. Robert's Cave, and beat most of
 " the plate flat: It was thought too late in the
 " morning, being about four o'clock on the 8th
 " of February, 1744-5, for Clark to go off so as to
 " get to any distance, it was therefore agreed he
 " should stay there till the night following, and
 " Clark accordingly staid there all that day, as he
 " believes, they having agreed to send him vic-
 " tuals, which were carried to him by Henry Ter-
 " ry, he being judged the most likely person to do
 " it without suspicion, for as he was a shooter he
 " might go thither under the pretence of sporting:
 " That the next night, in order to give Clark

" more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard
 " Houseman, and himself, went down to the cave
 " very early; but he (Aram) did not go in, or
 " see Clark at all; that Richard Houseman and
 " Henry Terry only went into the cave, he stay-
 " ing to watch, at a little distance on the outside,
 " lest any body should surprise them.

" That he believes they were beating some
 " plate, for he heard them make a noise; they staid
 " there about an hour, and then came out of the
 " cave, and told him that Clark was gone off:
 " Observing a bag they had along with them, he
 " took it in his hand, and saw that it contained
 " plate. On asking why Daniel did not take the
 " plate along with him? Terry and Houseman re-
 " plied, That they had bought it of him, as well
 " as the watches, and had given him money for
 " it, that being more convenient for him to go
 " off with, as less cumbersome and dangerous.
 " After which they all three went into House-
 " man's warehouse, and concealed the watches
 " with the small plate there, but that Terry car-
 " ried away with him the great plate: That
 " afterwards Terry told him he carried it to How-
 " hill, and hid it there, and then went into Scot-
 " land, and disposed of it: But as to Clark, he
 " could not tell whether he was murdered or not,
 " he knew nothing of him, only that they told
 " him he was gone off."

After he had signed this second confession he
 was conducted to York Castle, where he and
 Houseman remained till the Assizes.

From

From the above examination of Aram there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended and committed to the Castle. Bills of indictment were found against them: But it appearing to the Court, upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammas Assizes.

On the 3d of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the Bar. Houseman was arraigned on his former indictment, acquitted, and admitted evidence against Aram, who was thereupon arraigned. Houseman was then called upon, who deposed, " That in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, about eleven o'clock, he went to Aram's house: That after two hours spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of several goods, and to settle some notes concerning them, Aram proposed first to Clark and then to Houseman, to take a walk out of town: That when they came into the field where St. Robert's Cave is, Aram and Clark went into it over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards of the cave he saw them quarrelling: That he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again. That he saw no instrument Aram had, and knew not that he had any: That upon this, without any interposition or alarm, he left them and returned home: That the next morning he went to
Aram's

Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night, and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question; but threatened him if he spoke of his being in Clark's company that night; vowing revenge either by himself or some other person, if he mentioned any thing relating to the affair.

Peter Moor, (Clark's servant) deposed, "That a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune. That upon his return he went to Aram's house, where this witness then was: Upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, How do you, Mr. Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success? To which Clark replied, I have received my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it was with difficulty I got it. Upon which Aram said to Clark, (House-man being present) Let us go up stairs: Accordingly they went; upon which this witness returned home."

Mr. Beckwith deposed, "That, when Aram's garden was searched, on suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of Clark, there were found buried there several kinds of goods, bound together in a coarse wrapper; and, among the rest, in particular a piece of cambrick, which he himself had sold Clark a very little time before."

Thomas Barnet deposed, "That on the 8th of February, about one in the morning, he saw a person come out from Aram's house, who had a
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wide coat on, with the cape about his head, and seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat, and perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias a good morning."

John Barker, the Constable who executed the warrant granted by Mr. Thornton, and indorsed by Sir John Turner, deposed, "That, at Lynn, Sir John Turner, and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked him, If he knew Knaresbrough? He replied, No. And he being further asked, If he had any acquaintance with one Daniel Clark? He denied that he ever knew such a man. The witness then entered the school, and said, How do you do, Mr. Aram? Aram replied, How do you do, Sir? I don't know you. What! said the witness, Don't you know me? Don't you remember Daniel Clark and you had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresbrough? Upon this he recollected the witness, and owned his residence at Knaresbrough. The witness then asked him, If he did not know St. Robert's Cave? He answered, Yes. The witness replied, Aye, to your sorrow. That upon their journey to York Aram inquired after his old neighbours, and what they said of him. To which the witness replied, That they were much enraged against him for the loss of their goods; That upon Aram's asking, If it was not possible to make up the matter? The witness answered, he believed he might save himself, if he would restore

restore to them what they had lost. Aram answered, That was impossible; but he might perhaps find them an equivalent. Aram was then asked by the Judge, If he had any thing to say to the witness before him? He replied, "That to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them."

The skull was then produced in Court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Locock, the surgeon who produced it, gave it as his opinion, That no such breach could proceed from any natural decay; that it was not a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years standing.

After these several depositions, Aram was asked what he had to say in his behalf, and begged that he might be indulged in reading his defence.

The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original, and retaining even its accidental grammatical inaccuracies.

My

My LORD,

I Know not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your Lordship, that I am allowed the liberty at this Bar, and at this time, to attempt a defence; incapable, and uninstructed as I am to speak. Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so numerous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention, and filled with I know not what expectancy. I labour, not with guilt, My Lord, but with perplexity. For having never seen a Court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the customs of the Bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little capable of speaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

I have heard, My Lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myself charged with the highest crime, with an enormity I am altogether incapable of; a fact, to the commission of which there goes far more insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I stand indicted at your Lordship's Bar, and have heard what is called evidence induced in support of such a charge, I very humbly solicit your Lordship's patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable audience. while I, single and unskillful, destitute of friends, and unassisted by Counsel, say something. perhaps like argument, in my defence. I shall consume but little of your Lordship's time;
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what I have to say will be short, and this brevity, probably will be the best part of it: However it is offered with all possible regard, and the greatest submission to your Lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable court.

First, My Lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life, contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my Lord, I concerted not schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And, I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent, or unreasonable; but, at least, deserving some attention: Because, my Lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Mankind is never corrupted at once; villany is always progressive and declines from right, step after step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of all moral obligation totally perishes.

Again,

Again, my Lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health: For but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly and in part; but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant? I, past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact; without interest, without power, without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but, when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice; to prevent some real, or some imaginary want: Yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my Lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

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gain,

In the second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead: But the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the fallibility of all conclusions of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious to require instances: Yet, sup-
preceding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this Castle.

In June, 1757, William Thompson, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and double-ironed, made his escape; and, notwithstanding an immediate inquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisements, was never seen or heard of since. If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? But what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me, next, my Lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed it may: But is there any certain known criterion, which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones? Let it be considered, my Lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify them.

The place of their depositum too claims much more attention than is commonly bestow'd upon it.

For, of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than an hermitage; except he should point out a Church-yard. Hermitages in time past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too: And it has scarce or never been heard of, but that every cell, now known, contains or contained, these reliëts of humanity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind, your Lordship, that here sat solitary fancy, and here the hermit, or the anchoress, hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my Lord, I am sensible this is known to your Lordship, and many in this court better than I. But it seems necessary to my case, that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my Lord, to produce a few of many evidences, that these cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few, in which human bones have been found, as it happened in this in question; lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and, consequently, occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as was supposed, of the Saxon, St. Dubritius, were discovered buried in his cell at Guiscliff near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

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2. The bones, thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.

3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for in January, 1747, was found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones in part, of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholm near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.

4. In February, 1744, part of Woburn abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 years, and how much longer is doubtful; for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9.

What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question?

Farther, my Lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that a little distance from Knaresbrough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriot baronet, who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only

only, but five or six deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at its head, as your Lordship knows was usual in ancient interments.

About the same time, and in another field, almost close to this borough, was discovered also, in searching for gravel, another human skeleton; but the piety of the same worthy gentleman ordered both the pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My Lord, almost every place conceals such remains. In fields, in hills, in highway sides, and in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotments for rest for the departed, is but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your Lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than *one* skeleton being found in *one* cell; and in the cell in question was found but *one*; agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my Lord, to attempt to identify
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these, when even to indentify living men sometimes has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck, and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon, perhaps, as an attempt to determine what is indeterminate. And I hope too it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to those bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal omniscience.

Permit me, my Lord, also, very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell; even any person's naming such a place at random as containing them, in this case, shews him rather unfortunate than conscious prescient, and that these attendants on every hermitage only accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of *words* and *things*.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My Lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, and chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it more criminal accidentally to *name* where bones lie, than accidentally to *find* where they lie?

Here

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but was this the *cause*, or was it the consequence of death; was it owing to violence, or was it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My Lord, in May, 1732, the remains of William Lord Archbishop of this province were taken up, by permission, in this Cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken; yet certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture there.

Let it be considered, my Lord, that upon the dissolution of religious houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times both affected the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransack'd, and shrines demolished; your Lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I entreat your Lordship suffer not the violences, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knaresbrough had a castle, which, tho' now a ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament. At which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell
were

were buried: For every place, my Lord, is burial earth in war; and many, questionless, of these rest yet unknown, whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done; what nature may have taken off, and piety interred; or what war alone may have destroyed, alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been raked together, I have nothing to observe; but that all circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet are they but probability still. Why need I name to your Lordship the two Harrisons recorded in Dr. Howel, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance of their lodger, who was in credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution. Why name the intricate affair of Jaques du Moulin under King Charles II. related by a gentleman who was Council for the Crown. And why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocent though convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably

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charitably believed the father guilty. Why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted King's evidence; who, to screen himself, equally accused Fainloth and Loveday of the murder of Dunn; the first of whom in 1749, was executed at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of the Gosport Hospital.

Now, my Lord, having endeavoured to shew that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time; that no rational inference can be drawn, that a person is dead who suddenly disappears; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse; that the proofs of this are well authenticated; that the revolutions in religion, or the fortune of war, has mangled, or buried, the dead; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candor, the justice, and the humanity of your Lordship, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the Jury.

It might have been expected that the prisoner, in his defence, should have remark'd upon Houseman's testimony, which certainly in many instances, lay open to him; but this defence was drawn up long before his trial, and he seems not ever to have entertain'd a suspicion of the fidelity
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of his confederate. The Judge stated the evidence very particularly to the Jury; and, after having observed how the testimonies of the other deponents confirmed that of Houseman, he proceeded to remark upon Aram's defence, in order to shew that he alledged nothing that could invalidate the positive evidence against him. Without leaving the Court the jury presently found the prisoner guilty. During the whole trial he behaved with great steadiness and decency. He heard his conviction and received his sentence with profound composure, and left the Bar with a smile in his countenance. Whether this was the expression of indignation, or the affectation of heroism, we pretend not to determine.

At the request of the Editor (see a letter in the preface) and the Clergyman, who, by his own particular desire, attended him after his condemnation, Aram wrote the following short account of his family, and his life, some time in the interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution. So far as it is given to the public, it is given with the same scrupulous exactness with which his defence has been printed. It must, however, be declared; That as we suppressed a part of his second confession, because it reflected on some characters that stand unimpeached, so we have also suppressed a part of this performance, as being extremely injurious to the integrity and candor of the Court.

— *Anima fugit indignata sub umbras.*

REVEREND

REVEREND SIR*,

I Always believed any relation of my life of no manner of importance or service to the public, and I never had either any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now, by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantage of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Netherdale, in 1704. My maternal relations had been substantial and reputable in that Dale, for a great many generations: My father was of Nottinghamshire, a gardiner of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draughtsman. He served the Right. Rev. the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occasioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of a gardiner, with much credit to himself, and satisfaction to that family, for above 30 years. Upon the decease of that Baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, Bart. where he died; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

* The Rev. Mr. Collins of Knaresbrough.

My

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally British. Their surname is local; for they were formerly Lords of the town of Haram, or Aram, on the Southern banks of the Tees, and opposite to Stockburn in Bishopric; and appear in the records of St. Mary's at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors to that abbey. They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts, and were settled, under the fee of the Lords Mowbray in Nottinghamshire, at Aram, or Aram-Park, in the neighbourhood of Newark upon Trent; where they were possessed of no less than three Knight's fees in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the present Lord Lexington. While the name existed in this county, some of them were several times High-Sheriffs for this county; and one was professor of Divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last of the chief of this family was Thomas Aram, Esq; sometime of Gray's Inn, and one of the Commissioners of the Salt-Office, under the late Queen Ann. He married one of the co-heiresses of Sir John Coningsby, of North-Mims, in Hertfordshire. His seat, which was his own estate, was at the Wild, near Shenley, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died, without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be
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considered rather as ostentatious than pertinent? But the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to Skelton near Newby; and thence at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school; where I was made capable of reading the Testament, which was all I was ever taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the Rev. Mr. Alcock of Burnsal.

After this, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was here my propension to literature first appeared: For being always of a solitary disposition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time was engaged in the mathematics: I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a great number of books in most branches, Kersey's Algebra, Leyburn's Cursus Mathematicus, Ward's Young Mathematician's Guide, Harris's Algebra, &c. and a great many more: But these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions.

tions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had studied before, I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination by Mr. Christopher Blackett, qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his accompting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small-pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near upon a journey to London, which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to these brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but begun and prosecuted others, of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: These were poetry, history, and antiquities, the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers and lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching,

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited into Netherdale, my native air, where I first engaged in a school; where I married, unfortunately enough for me: For the misconduct of the wife which that place afforded me, has procured me this place, this prosecution, this infamy, and this sentence.

During

During my marriage here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistible covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar; I selected Lilly from the rest: All which I got and repeated by heart. The task of repeating it all every day, was impossible, while I attended the school, so I divided it into portions; by which method it was pronounced thrice every week: And this I performed for years.

Next, I became acquainted with Camden's Greek Grammar, which I also repeated in the same manner, *memoriter*. Thus instructed, I entered upon the Latin classics; whose allurements repaid my assiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at first, hung over five lines for a whole day; and never, in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, but I did, or thought I did, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the Latin classics, historians and poets, I went through the Greek Testament; first, parsing every word as I proceeded; next, I ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the Greek Tragedians: A tedious labour was this; but my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely; because it threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend, William Norton, Esq; came for me from Knaresbrough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither; and accordingly I repaired thither in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there. Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of the Hebrew; and with indefatigable diligence. I had Buxtorff's Grammar; but that being perplexed or not explicit enough, at least, in my opinion at that time, I collected no less than eight or ten different Hebrew Grammars; and here one very often supplied the omissions of others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the Bible in the original, and read the whole Pentateuch, with an intention to go through the whole of it, which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18th, 1744, I went again to London. [The reasons shall follow.] Here I agreed to teach the Latin and writing, for the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly, which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me French; wherein I observed the pronunciation the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never before known a word of it: But this my continued application every night or other opportunity overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of French. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Some

Some time after this I went to Hays, in the capacity of writing-master, and served a gentle woman there, since dead; and staid, after that, with a worthy and Reverend Gentleman. I continued here between three and four years.

I succeeded to several other places in the South of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the Acts of Parliament to be registered in Chancery, and after went down to the free-school at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresbrough to this period is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of history and antiquities, heraldry and botany; in the last of which I was very agreeably entertained; there being so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnæus, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden at Chelsea; and traced pleasure through a thousand fields: At last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this I ventured upon the Chaldee and Arabic; and, with a design to understand them, supplied myself with Erpenius, Chapelhow, and others: But had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic; the Chaldee I found easy enough, because of its connexion with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the Celtic, as far as possible, in all its dialects; begun collections, and made comparisons between that, the English, the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew. I had made

notes, and compared above three thousand of these together, and found such a surprising affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed through the whole of all these languages, and form a comparative Lexicon which I hoped would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the Latins and Greeks, before concealed and unobserved. This, or something like it, was the design of a Clergyman of great erudition in Scotland; but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that all the plate of Knaresbrough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession; as for me, I had nothing at all *. My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows that Terry's wife had some velvet; and if she will, can testify it: She deserves not the regard

* It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, viz. about 160l. and there were strong circumstances to prove it; but it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.

of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence, wherein he said I threatned him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant? I must need observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence in which he said, he went home from Clark; whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can also testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

Aram's sentence was a just one, and he submitted to it with that stoicism he so much affected; and the morning after he was condemned, he confessed the justness of it to two Clergymen, (who had a licence from the Judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered Clark. Being asked by one of them, what his motive was for doing that abominable action? He told them, "He suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife; that he was persuaded at the time when he committed the murder he did right; but since he had thought it wrong".

After this, *pray*, says Aram, *what became of Clark's body, if Houseman went home (as he said upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall?* One of the Clergymen replied, *I'll tell you what became of it, you and Houseman dragged it into the Cave, stripp'd and buried it there; brought away his cloathes, and burnt them at your own house:* To which he assented. He was asked, whether Houseman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife, for fear she should discover the business they

they had been about, he hastily replied, *He did, and pressed me several times to do it.*

This was the substance of what passed with Aram the morning after he was condemned; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed, every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed; but he prevented any further discovery, by a horrid attempt upon his own life. When he was called from bed to have his irons taken off, he would not rise, alledging he was very weak. On his examination his arm appeared bloody; proper assistance being called, it was found that he had attempted to take away his own life, by cutting his arm in two places with a razor, which he had concealed in the condemned hold some time before. By proper applications he was brought to himself, and, though weak, was conducted to Tyburn; where being asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, No. Immediately after he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knaresbrough Forest, and hung in chains pursuant to his sentence.

On his table, in the cell, was found a paper, containing the following reasons for the above-said wicked attempt.

WHAT am I better than my fathers? To die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this I fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the manner of it is something which
I should,

ould, in my opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both these points. Certainly nobody has a better right to dispose of man's life than himself; and he, not others, should determine how. As for any indignities offered to my body, or silly reflections on my faith and morals, they are (as they always were) things indifferent to me. I think, though contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offensive to that eternal being that formed me and the world: And as by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably offended. I solicitously recommend myself to the Eternal and Almighty Being, the God of Nature, if I have done amiss. But perhaps I have not; and I hope this thing will never be imputed to me. Though I am now stained by malevolence, and suffer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was not polluted, my morals irreproachable, and my opinions orthodox.

I slept soundly till three o'clock, awak'd, and then writ these lines:

*Come pleasing Rest, eternal Slumber fall,
Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all;
Calm and compos'd my soul her journey takes,
No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches;
Adieu! thou sun, all-bright like her arise;
Adieu! fair friends, and all that's good and wise.*

These lines, found along with the foregoing, were supposed to be written by Aram just before he cut himself, with the razor.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding he pleads a sovereign right over himself, in vindication of this last horrid crime, and appears, at first view, actuated by honour and courage; yet a little reflection will convince any one, his motive for such an inhuman deed was nothing more than the fear of shame. That he murdered Clark is beyond all doubt, as he himself confessed it; but the excuse he afterwards made for it is greatly to be suspected, it being at the expence of the character of an innocent industrious poor woman, whom he ever treated in an infamous, inhuman manner.

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MISCELLANIES;

Consisting of

I. LETTERS.

II. An ESSAY towards a LEXICON, upon
an entire new PLAN.

III. Of the Origin and Antiquity of the
MELSUPPER or Shouting of the
CHURN.

IV. POEMS.

Written by EUGENE ARAM, while a
Prisoner in YORK CASTLE.

LETTER I.

YORK, June 2, 1776. 59

SIR,

TO satisfy my promise and your request I have
transcribed part of the papers, and propose
copying, and transmitting to you the remainder
of them next week; or as early as I can. I am
only able to employ half of my time in this, but
wish I could dispose of all my time that way, either
for your amusement or your service. I have no
materials

materials for my purpose by me; not so much as book, paper, or MS. of any kind; so that it is easy to conceive under what disadvantages I write. Memory is all I have to trust to; and that can never be capacious of all I want.

You were pleased to promise me some assistance in my affair; in hopes of which, I have subjoined the only question, I think, of any importance to me; and beg satisfaction in it, by what way you judge best.

I am, Sir,

Under great obligations,

And with all possible respect,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

E. A R A M.

Q. Whether Houseman, who, after his being apprehended and in custody, and commitment upon a charge of murder; accused me of that fact, can possibly be admitted evidence for the King against me, as, he says, his counsel tells him he may: The fact with which he impeaches me being fourteen years ago, and there being nothing against me but what he pretends to say? Whether is the power of admitting evidence for the King, invested in the Judge, or King's Counsel, or both?

LETTER

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

THE very humble opinion I ever entertained of any thing I wrote, prevented my retaining any copies; there remains an Elegy on Sir John Armitage, who fell at St. Cas; if I can possibly recover it, it shall come accompanied with a transcript of some of the papers you procured, and the rest shall follow as speedily as I can write them, which indeed, if you had not had the curiosity to desire, I could not have had the assurance to offer. Scarce believing I, who was hardly taught to read, have any abilities to write. I am, Sir,

With much gratitude for your kindness,

And with all possible respect,

Your most humble, most obliged servant,

E. A R A M.

L E T T E R III.

S I R,

I Thank you much for your kind concern for me: and which you have expressed so well. Mr. Wharton beg'd my defence of yesterday, and there is no other but that, which is only genuine. If you think it will be either pleasure or advantage to you; I will, upon the least intimation, speak to Mr. Wharton, that he suffer you to copy it. As to my life, it is of no importance to the public, nor would it be of service to any body; nor does any one know much about it. Nor if it was material to write it, have I time. But I am certain

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it was spent much more commendably, than that of any one of my enemies.

I have three books of yours, and thank you for the amusement some of them have afforded me; and with you could send for them, it not being in my power to get them to you. Yet, Sir, if any general particulars of my life, will oblige you, you have nothing to do, but let me know.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Saturday, 10 o'clock.

E. A R A M.

LETTER IV.

S I R,

I Had both your favours, for which I thank you, you have enclosed, what I thought proper to say, concerning myself, family, and affair. I promised it to the Rev. Mr. Collins. If you chuse to order any of your people to transcribe it, you may keep this, and I will subscribe my name to such transcript. Do which you please. I thank you again and again. I write in great haste, as I doubt appears, but you will pardon inaccuracies. I should be very glad to see you to-morrow, if it can be allowed, and am

Your most obliged humble servant,

August 4, —59.

E. A R A M.

P. S. Mr. Collins will visit me on Monday morning.

An

A N
E S S A Y
T O W A R D S
A L E X I C O N,

Upon an Entire New PLAN.

TO attempt the work of a Lexicon, and at a time too, when so many, and those so considerable, have already appeared, valuable for the excellence of their composition, and respectable for the authority of their authors, may possibly be looked upon as an unnecessary, if not altogether a supernumerary labour. How far such an opinion may be just, or premature, will be better elucidated by a very cursory perusal of, and a little deliberation upon, the subsequent plan. And this, whatever appearances of novelty it may be attended with, however strongly the current of general opinion opposes it, is not so recent, not so foreign to the service of letters, as by some may be imagined.

Before I open the plan I have to offer to the Literati, and upon which the superstructure is intended

tended to be built, it perhaps may not be improper to throw out a few preliminary reflections, which have occurred to me in the course of my reading, a part of which are these that follow.

All our Lexicographers, a very few excepted, for aught I have adverted to, have been long employed, and have generally contented themselves too, within the limits of a very narrow field. They seem to have looked no farther than the facilitating for youth the attainment of the Latin and Greek languages, and almost universally consider the former, as *only* derived from the latter. These two single points seem to have confined their whole view, possessed their whole attention, and engrossed all their industry.

Here and there indeed, and in a few pieces of this kind, one sees interspersed, derivations of the English from the Latin, Greek &c. inferred from a conformity of orthography, sound, and signification, and these very true. But whence this relation, this consonancy arose, why it has continued from age to age to us, has floated on the stream of time so long, and passed to such a distance of place, how antient words have survived conquests, the migrations of people, and the several coalitions of nations, and colonies, notwithstanding the fluctuating condition of language in its own nature, they have neither observed with diligence, nor explained with accuracy.

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Almost every Etymologist that has fallen into my hands, and detained my eye, have not been mistaken then in the comparisons they have made, or the uniformity they have observed, between the Latin and the Greek, and between both those languages, and our own; but then their instances have been but short and few, and they have failed in accounting for this uniformity; they have indeed sufficiently evinced a similarity, but produced no reasons for it. It is not to be thought of, much less concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the reliëts of the Roman settlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here; no, this resemblance was co-eval with the primary inhabitants of this Island; and the accession of other colonies, did not obliterate, but confirm this resemblance, and also brought in an encrease, an accession of other words, from the same original, and consequently bearing the same conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Irish, in numberless instances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both possessed this consimilarity long ago, before J. Cæsar, and the Roman invasion. I know not but the Latin more differed from it self in the succession of six continued centuries, than the Welsh and Irish at this time from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, not to mention others, gentlemen of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition, Dr. Davis may be consulted; and the learned Sheringham,

ham, who has exhibited a long and curious specimen of Greek and Cambrian words, so exactly correspondent in *sound* and *sense*, or at least so visibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet questioned, much less disputed their alliance.

This similitude subsisting in common between the Irish, Cambrian, Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, as it has not escaped the notice, and animadversions of the learned, so their surprize has generally encreased with their researches, and considerations about it: new circumstances of agreement perpetually arising. A great many gentlemen, conversant in ambiguities, and pleased with literary amusements of this kind, have ascribed these palpable connexions to conquest, or to commerce: they have supposed, that the intercourse, which on the latter account, antiently subsisted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons (see Boch. Huet, &c.) occasioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed this accident of commerce must needs have had its influence; but then this influence must have been but weak and partial; not prevalent and extensive. Commerce has, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words; yet would words of this kind and at that time hardly extend a great way; they would only affect the maritime parts, and those places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any considerable impression upon the whole body of any language.

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But even supposing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet could they never penetrate into the more interior parts of it, into recesses remote from the sea; strangers to all correspondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natal soil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itself, whither foreigners, especially at the distance of more than twice ten centuries, can scarcely be supposed to have come. There could have been but few invitations to it then; and perhaps there are not many now.

Since then I have taken notice of this almost community of language observable between the Greek, and the Celtic, in some dialect of it, or other, and have attempted to shew, it could scarcely be imported, in the manner so generally believed; it seems incumbent upon me, to offer a more probable conjecture, if it is a conjecture, how it has arrived; which is the subject of the following dissertation.

AFTER what has been produced as prefatory, it is now time, if it may not be thought it was so before, to exhibit the plan I mentioned, not attempted in confidence of my own, but to excite superior abilities to think farther, and for the farther illustration and service of letters, and submitted with the greatest deference to the learned, and with the extremest diffidence of myself.

It

It is then this: That the antient Celtæ, by the numberless vestiges left behind them, in Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the western part of Europe, appear to have been, if not the aborigines, at least their successors, and masters, in Gaul, Britain, and the west; that their language, however obsolete, however mutilated, is at this day discernable in all those places, that victorious people conquered and retained: that it has extended itself far and wide, visibly appearing in the antient Greek, Latin and English, and of all which it included a very considerable part, and indeed unquestionably in all the languages of Europe, emerges in the names of springs, torrents, rivers, woods, hills, plains, lakes, seas, mountains, towns, cities and innumerable other local appellatives; many of which have never, that I know of, been accounted for: that it still partially continued as a language, in its dialects in the declining remains of it, dispersed among the Irish, in Basse Bretagne, St. Kilda, in Cantabria, and the mountains of Wales: that much of it is still extant in the works of our earlier poets, and historians, and much yet living upon the tongues of multitudes, *inter rura Brigantum*, in Cumberland, &c. unknown and unobserved, as, I hope, the succeeding exercises, will make apparent: that the original of both the Latin and the Greek is in a great measure, Celtic; that Celtic, which polished by Greece, and refined by Rome, and which only with dialectic difference, flow'd from the lips of Virgil, and thunder'd from the mouth of Homer.

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The design then of all this is to exhibit and illustrate these connexions.

AFTER having proceeded thus far, and so often reiterated *Celtæ* and *Celtic*, it is high time to come to an explication of these words, and enumerate the people to whom they have been usually applied. The *Celtæ*, then, were confessedly Scythians or Tatars, the posterity of Gomer, and agreeable to the name of their Patriarch, called themselves in their own language, *Cimmeri*, *Cummeri*, or contractedly *Cimbri*; and the Welch to this day call themselves *Cummeri*, whence *Cumberland*, pointing out very lucidly their *extraction* by their *name*. But what becomes of *Celtæ* in all this? And why were these *Cimmeri* denominated *Celtæ*? As they were Tatars or Scythians, and both their name, country, and original at first unknown; and it being observed by the people they invaded that they were all, or mostly horsemen, and of great celebrity, the Greeks, almost the only historians of the earlier ages, very naturally distinguished these *Cimmerians* or *Gomerians* by the name of *Κελητες*, *Celtæ*, i. e. *light horsemen*. They made several very terrible irruptions into the fairest parts of Asia, and thence into Europe, and back again like a retiring tide, under the conduct of Brennus to the number of 150 000. Callimachus relates, that the original of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was owing to a little statue of that Goddess, which these *Cimmerians* erected in the hollow of a tree, while their armies and depredations, under *Ligdamis* their Captain, wasted Asia. Their migrations

tions were frequent and noted: For they, obliged by real, or imaginary necessity, incited by avarice, or stimulated only by a spirit of war, became often vexatious to one another, and always formidable to their neighbours. They also in another prodigious swarm poured out of Tatar, about 950 years after the Flood, and made another dreadful irruption, under Alcon, their leader, into the greater Armenia, and in a little space made themselves masters of Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and the greater part of the lesser Asia, where, as in several other countries, continued a great many memorials of their name, and conquests. But Phrygia seems to have been their principal residence, and there they have been most distinguished. They had various appellations imposed upon them, as those of *Gigantes*, *Titanes*, both signifying sprung from the earth, in this referring to the obscurity of their origin. Of this eminent people was *Saturn*; he himself was a Cimmerian, and passed, one may believe, not unattended, into Italy; upon some disagreement with *Jupiter*, his son. The body of these Cimmerians, or Celtæ, which is but an adventitious name, the time not ascertained, proceeded far into Europe, even to Britain, and its islands, &c. And that the name of Cimmeri, or Cimbri, was also remembered in Gaul, as well as Britain, is clear; for the soldier, who was sent for the execution of *Marius* the Consul, is by some historians called a Gaul, by others a Cimber, which two names, as is evident from hence, were esteemed synonymous, and indifferently applied to the same person.

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There is also the Cimbric, Chersonese, &c. but these Cimmerians scarcely advanced together, and at once, but gradually, and time after time, established their settlements, where, and as they could. Their government was the oldest known, i. e. it was Patriarchal; and so remained in Scotland till within our own memories. Afterwards there was an absolute coalition in many nations of this people and their language, with those they conquered, and with the colonies from Greece, Tyre, Carthage, &c. and theirs, and all of them a while after this incorporation, are found in history under the common name of Celtæ. The very same accident happened between the Saxons and the Britons; and also between the Scots and Picts in the North. It can scarcely be imagined that the Saxons, destroyed all the Britons, that escaped not into Wales; or that the Scots extinguished all the race of the Picts, that did not cross the seas. No; 'tis unlikely, 'tis impossible; these two nations united with the two subdued, and became one people, under the name of the most predominant. So it was with the Celtæ, when of themselves, or upon their incorporation with the conquered, they became populous and powerful, especially in Greece, their principal seat; colony propelled colony still farther and farther, till they, with the language they brought along with them from the East and Greece, &c. arrived in and about Britain, and whither else we can fix no bounds; as waves departing from some center, swell with a wider and a wider circumference, wave impelling wave, till at last their circles disappear.

The

The Greeks, the posterity of Javan, as is generally allowed, and as is plain from their name Touian, and historical evidence, and by the connexions their language has with the Hebrew and Phœnician, &c. arrived at first from Asia, and colony after colony, peopled Peloponnesus, the islands of the Archipelago, and those of the Mediterranean, and there continued, with no considerable variation of language, but what was naturally made by time, and what is incident to all, till this inundation of these Cimmerians, which they called Celtæ. Particular appellations indeed were annexed to their tribes, but from this difference of names in those tribes, we must not suspect them to be of different extraction; by no means, they were all but portions of the same vast body. Their dominions, after their union with the original Greeks, became very extensive; and all the North-West parts of Europe were from them, called by the Greeks, Celto-Scythia.

Bodin, 'tis true, has affirmed, that the name of Celtica was peculiar to Gaul; but he is a writer of very inconsiderable authority, and is learnedly confuted by *Gluverius*, who, I think, in his fourth chapter, shows, that Celtica included Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and Mr. Irvin, a Scots gentleman of great abilities, asserts, that the colonies of the Celtæ also covered Italy, the Alps, Thessaly, &c. and all this I am induced to believe may be satisfactorily proved, if by nothing else, yet by the very great consimilarity in their languages, when carefully considered in comparison with one another;

ther; especially in many old local appellatives, which have certainly existed before commerce, or intercourse, could possibly be concerned in imposing them. But because I am unwilling to convert what was only meant as prefatory, into a lexicon, I must supercede the proofs of this, or what I take to be such, till I come to treat of the words themselves. Should this be doubted or contested, and any objections, and those not apparently immaterial, arise, or be imagined to arise, in opposition to any particular, that has been advanced, I humbly apprehend, that an accurate examination into this plan, will never contradict, but support every observation contained in these papers. But what will appear most decisive upon this head, is, that unquestionable remains of their *language* exist at this day, in countries, where their *name* is entirely forgotten; and what is yet more convincing, though probably unsuspected, is, that a very great number of topical names, &c. are continually occurring where the Celtæ have penetrated; and been established from time immemorial, as English, Latin, and Greek, &c. which can never be investigated from any other original.

Add to this, that wherever history fails in accounting for the extraction of any people, or where it is manifestly mistaken, how can this extraction be more rationally inferred, and determined, or that mistake rectified, than from the analogy of languages? Or is not this alone sufficiently conclusive, if nothing else was left? Thus Cæsar, so conspicuous for either Minerva, and
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whose opinions will ever have their proper weight with the learned, asserts, that the Britons were from Gaul, not so much from their vicinity to one another, as from the remarkable analogy of their tongue to the Gallic. And admit there was not a record left in the world, to prove the original of our American settlements, I would ask, if their language itself, notwithstanding many words both now, and formerly unknown in England, and adopted into it, was not sufficient to prove it? And must not a similitude as near, considering the very great distance of time, an extensive commerce, the admission of new colonies, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the natural inconstancy of languages, equally prove an alliance among those in question? The traces of the Celtic, notwithstanding the ruins consequent upon all these, have hitherto remained indelible. They almost perpetually arise in the general geography of all the West of Europe; and often in more confined and topographical descriptions. Not a country in Britain, scarce any extent of sea or land from Kent to St. Kilda, wherein the most satisfactory evidences of this may not be found. The same congruity holds too in Gaul, Spain, Italy, &c. and a work of this kind, begun with circumspection, and conducted with regularity, could not fail of throwing great light upon all the languages concerned, and upon the obscurity of thousands of local names, and in short seems to promise fair to contribute as a lamp, to the elucidation of many dark antiquities.

The

The Greek and Hebrew, then, &c. observable in our language, and not unnoticed by the learned, and found in recesses, where they might be but little expected, as will be shewn in the course of these remarks, was not imported by Phœnician merchants, and Greek traders only, but entered along with the earliest colonies from the East into Britain; after each colony had protruded other through all the intermediate continent, of which Britain probably was once a part. Not that the whole of a people entered into any long migration; I believe, never. The aged, the infirm, and the youth of either sex, incapable of engaging in war; or of enduring the fatigues of travel, of surmounting the opposition of mountains, and forests, and rivers, remained a feeble company behind; and certainly retained the same language their itinerant countrymen had carried with them, which sometimes was very far remote. Hence that almost identity of languages is sometimes found in places at a great distance from each other; and hence that agreement in many vocables between the Greek, and the Cambrian and Irish Celtic. Nor is there so much inconsistency, as has been insinuated, in that immemorial tradition existent among the Welch, that they were the descendants of the Greeks. That they came with any Brutus, is not only fabulous, but ridiculous; but that they are of Greek extraction, perhaps is neither. The tradition is undoubtedly false with regard to the *person*, Brutus; but certainly real as to the *thing*, this Greek extraction. It may be objected indeed that this is only tradition; What else could it pos-

sibly be? Could they have history, annals, and inscriptions before they had letters? Was there not also a period wherein Greece herself, afterwards so illustrious for arts, was destitute and ignorant of these? Could these then be expected in Britain, so far detached from the sources whence Greece drew all her science? No: Memory, or some rugged uninscribed stone, in these obscure and early ages was the sole register of facts, and tradition all their history.

In the subsequent specimens I have been very prolix; but as the subject had been unattempted before, and seemed so repugnant to the general opinion, I supposed there was really some necessity for enlargement, that the connexions I had intimated might appear the more visible and striking, and leave the less of uncertainty upon the mind. And I humbly conceive, that the congruity among the languages induced here, is made as obvious as the nature of the thing is capable of; particularly regarding this distance of time, this mutation of kingdoms, times, and manners, and under such abilities as mine. I cannot but beg pardon for some little oriental introductions in the word *beer*; I would very gladly have superseded them, had I not believed it preferable to refer to the original, and to produce the evidences together and at once, that they might possess the force of union. I am led to think, that a very little deliberation upon this subject, will be required to perceive the utility of it, and a small acquaintance with languages to be sensible of the pertinence of the comparisons.

parifons. I imagine too, that to a moderate portion of letters and sagacity it will soon be clear, that the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, considered and compared together, will abundantly dilucidate one another. And perhaps the *examples* to be hereafter produced in support of this plan, will better evince the reasonableness of it, than whole *reams* employed in arguments.

N. B. That the examples to follow are as much as possible fetched from the Irish, I industriously omitting the British, lest it should be thought, as I know it has been sometimes, that the Romans left us the words that bear any relation to the Latin, while this can never be objected to the Irish, since the Romans never set foot in Ireland. Pardon inaccuracies too, since I have had no assistance but from memory.

E X A M P L E S.

BEAGLES, a race of hounds, so named for being little; and perfectly agreeable to the primary signification of the Celtic *pig*, i. e. *little*. The Greeks have anciently used this word too, and in the sense of *little*, of which they seem to have constituted their *πυγμαίος*, i. e. a dwarf. It still subsists among the Irish, and still in that language conveys the idea of *little*; as, *Fir pig*, a little man; *Ban pig*, a little woman; *Beg aglach*, little fearing. It was common in Scotland in the same acceptation also; for one of the *Hebrides* is named from this cubital people, *Dunie Begs*, (see Mr. Irvin) and it yet exists in Scotland in the word *Phillibeg*, i. e. a little petticoat. And we ourselves retain it in the provincial word *Peagles*, i. e. cowslips, a name imposed upon them of old from the littleness of their flowers. And our Northern word *Peggy* is properly applicable to no female as a christian name, but is merely an epithet of size, and a word of endearment only.

NID, Nothing seems more suitable than this Celtic name for this river; which, after running a considerable way from its fountain, again enters the earth by a wide and rocky cavern; then taking a subterraneous course of some miles, again emerges to the light, by two issues, whose waters are immediately united below. This word *Nid* among

among the Celtæ, signified *under*, *below*, or *covered*; and so it does yet. The Irish Celtæ say, *Neth shin*, i. e. under a place; *Nes-sene*, i. e. a bird's nest; and *nad*, a nest simply, where *t* is converted into *s*, as is common; so the Greek has γλῶττα or γλωσσα; and so the Germans of their antient *wasser*, have made *watter*, i. e. *water*. This word *Nid* is very diffused too; there is found Nithisdale, or Niddisdale, in Scotland; *Nid* near Knaresbrough, the seat of — Traps, Esq; both probably named from their having been formerly hid in the depth and obscurity of woods. *Nidum* is also found in Glamorganshire; there are the rivers, *Nidrus* in Norway, and *Nid* even in Poland. It is part of the modern words, *beneath*, *nether*, and *Netherlands*. This *neath* was formerly written *nead*; for an epitaph, transcribed from a monumental stone at Kirklees, by Dr. Gale, has

“ Undernead this little steane.”

Where the former part of the word, *under*, is only explicatory of the latter part, *nead*. This signification of *nid*, leads to the true and original meaning of Shakespeare's *niding*, i. e. a person that hides himself: Mr. Johnson interprets it, a *coward*, but that is only its secondary signification, and that but true sometimes; for a person does not always hide himself through fear. It appears to be the radical of the Latin *Nidus*, *nidifico*, *nidulor*, *nidificatio*, and also of the Greek νεοσσός, in the Attic νεοττος, *pullus avium*, &c. which all know to be
very

very well *hidden*; and they bore this Greek name, not because they were young, but because they were *hidden*. So νεοσσια or νεοττια, *nidus*, &c. whence our word *nests*.

VIR, This word is, and that precisely enough, the Celtic *Eir*; its very great antiquity, and use with the Celtæ, appears in the Irish regal proper name, *Firgus*, as first and second; in our modern surname, *Ferguson*; also in the word *Firbolgs*, (i. e. *vir Belgici*) by which the old Irish called a colony of the Belgæ, which settled amongst them. And of this word *Bolgs*, Cæsar and the Romans formed the Latin *Belgæ*, which, indeed, imports the same, and is the same word with the Greek *Pelasgi*, either from their coming by sea, or from their vicinity to it. *Fir*, in most words into whose composition it enters, implies something of ability, and strength; as in the Irish *Fertamhuill*, i. e. a man of an able body, and in the Latin *fortis*, *virtus*, &c. Neither was it infrequent in Gaul; it composes a part of Cæsar's *Vercingetorix*, *Viridomarus*, &c. *Cæs. Com. l. 7*, &c. The German Celtæ likewise used it, for it exists yet with them in the compound word *Werewolf*. This *wer*, in the Latin sense of *vir*, appears also among the Anglo-Saxons; for in the Saxon *Hentateuch* of Ælfric, the Monk, published at Oxford, is, "And God made them *pæpman*, i. e. *male*, &c. The word *man*, *homo*, antiently, as in our modern translations of this place, included both sexes; and the Saxons prefixed *pæp* to *man*, to determine the sex.

MAGISTER;

MAGISTER; How natural, easy, and lucid does its original appear from the Celtic *maighis*, whence the Latin *magnus*, and Greek *μεγας*, *great*, and *tor*, dominus, nor has the first of these entirely left us; it remains in the northern obsolete word *mickle*, *much* or *great*; and in Micklegate, a large street in York. And *meg*, in many places is yet commonly heard, and ever ludicrously applied to a very tall woman; 'tis also used for a huge stone in an erect position. Mr. Cambden, I think, in Cumberland, takes notice of a tall upright stone there, called *Long Meg*. And the great cannon in Scotland, taken at Mons, the Scots call *Mons Meg*. It seems a radical used in common by many of the Celtic nations, each agreeable to its dialect. And *tor* is the Greek and Latin *τυραννος*, and tyrannus.

BEER, This word has been one oriental name for a *well* or *water*; and very probably has been transmitted along with the earliest settlements into Europe. It is found still in this Island, both in its primary and translated signification; *i. e.* for *water*, and for *beer*. It is read Gen; 29, ii. &c. *וַיֵּאָרָא וְהָגָה בְּאֵר* *Va yare ve hinneh beer*; and in the Chaldee *וַיַּחַז וְהָא בֵּירָא* *Va chaza ve ha bera*; *i. e.* "He looked, and behold, a well." Water was the first beverage of mankind, and was, as was undoubtedly natural, applied to other drinkables, as they were invented: The great simplicity of antient languages, and times, not directly affording any other than *beer*. So we apply the word wine, once, perhaps, peculiar to the juice of the grape,

grape, to liquids extracted from many other fruits; as gooseberries, elderberries, &c. And here tho' the copiousness of modern languages distinguishes these, which the poverty of the antient did not, or not early; yet they retain the name of wine still. Hence *beer*, tho' originally a word for *water*, became expressive of some liquors drawn from vegetables, because they became, like water, a beverage. In the very same manner the Celtic *isca*, originally signifying *water*, was imposed on other liquids; there being at first no other, whereby readily to express them *isca*, water: so *whisky*, a liquor used in Scotland, is nothing but a corruption of this antient *isca*, water; yet it is not simply water. *Isca* too is found in Ireland, in the word *usquebagh*, to which time has superadded the epithet *bagh*, *i. e.* strong, by way of distinction from common water.

Beer yet continues in its primary acceptation of a rivulet from a spring, or water simply, in the recesses of this county, but little frequented; and in Scotland for water itself. For to these places colonies and conquests have carried but few innovations; for *words* annexed to *things* of such frequent use, as *water*, *fire* &c. heard mentioned every day for years, must necessarily have maintained their ground long, and resisted the shocks of time better than those but seldom used, and as seldom named. Hence about Roxborough, it is usual to ask, "have you any burn?" *i. e.* water simply, meaning in the house; where the final *n* only terminates the word after the taste and genius of the German, and alters nothing.

In

In Netherdale are two torrents, *i. e.* Bierbeck, and Doubergil, descending from the moors. In the first of these, the latter syllable *beck* is only put as explanatory, and as the sense of the prior syllable *beer*, water, or a rivulet; 'tis the same in another torrent in Cumberland near *Longtown*, called Bierburn, where *burn*, in like manner explains *bier*. In Doubergil, the last syllable * *gil*, an old Irish word for water, is only affixed to explain *ber*, the syllable immediately preceding it: And *dou*, in the Celtic, implies *black*, a color proper to this torrent, contracted from its passage thro' peat earth, and morasses. And even so low as our own times this affixing a word explaining the foregoing continues; as, Halshaugh hill, at Ripon, Michaelhaugh hill near that town, where *hill*, a more modern word, is only explanatory of *haugh*, or *how*, a more antient one for the very same thing.

And to show *ber*, *bier* &c. is not confined to these retirements, no, nor to Britain, there is the *Ver*, a rivulet near St. Albans, of which the Romans formed their Verolanium; we have more streams possessed of this name also. There is the *Var* too in France, the *Iberus* in Spain, and the *Tiber* in Italy, all including this beer in their names. Where, by the way, *Ti* in the Celtic did, and does at this day in St. Kilda, signify *great*, and *ber* is water, or a river; the whole

* It is the Hebrew גַּל *gal*, *i. e.* unda, from the rolling and rapidity of most torrents; it remains in the English also.
then

then will be, the *great river*: a name that sufficiently distinguishes it there, as it is far the greatest river in that part of Italy. I cannot recollect whether *ber* for water is in the British, but I suspect it has; however the Britons used *aber* for the mouth of a river, except it may be thought the Latin *aperio*. But the Irish retain *ber* still for water; as *Inbher slaingé*, a river by Wexford: *Inbher Domhnoin* in Cannacht, *i. e.* the *deep* river, *domhnoin* importing *deep*. Neither is the Latin destitute of this *ber* in the signification of water too, for of this seems formed the Roman *imber*; and it is also the Greek *ουερος*, *i. e.* *vetos*, which last is the modern English *wet*.

AN APPLE TREE, *i. e.* APOLLO'S TREE. But it may at first be thought, what reference this can have to Apollo: That is yet to appear. This name in the Danish is, I think, *æble træe*. The Saxon pentateuch, before referred to, if I remember right has *apel*, the Irish *abal*, and the Welsh a consonant word, whose orthography I forget. Other original of the name, tho' sought for, I have no where found; but it is certainly very antient, as antient as heathenism, and the worship of Apollo, from whom it was, tho' not always, distinguished by this name. For it was once one of the symbols of that God, and dedicated to his deity, and hence with some inconsiderable variation in different countries, deliver'd down to us. The name was probably introduced hither by very early colonies, and continued its name, when the custom that gave it rise, was forgotten

forgotten. And that this is its original will be easily deducible from a little reflexion on the proofs in support of it. The prizes in the sacred games were the olive crown, *apples*, parsley, and the pine. Lucian in his book of games, affirms *apples* to have been the reward in the sacred games of Apollo. And Curtius of gardens asserts the same thing. It appears also that the apple-tree was consecrated to Apollo before the laurel; for both Pindar and Callimachus observe, that Apollo put not on the laurel, till after his conquest of the Python; and he appropriated it to himself on account of his passion for Daphne. The victors wreath at first was a bough with its apples hanging on it, sometimes along with a branch of laurel, and these antiquity united together in the Pythian games.

HAMILTON (or more properly) HAMILDUN hill, a name of very remote antiquity, and imposed upon several hills in this county, and it occurs too in several other places. I am not able to recollect precisely, if it remains in the Welsh; but if it does not, 'tis probable that it has once existed in it. This name is derived, not from the elevation of these hills, but from their figure to the eye; which is, as far as I have had opportunity to remark, or inform myself, that of half a globe, with its convexity upwards; which has a gradual descent, like them, from its summit every way. Now any hill, or mountain of such a

H

form,

form, the Irish to this time call *himmel*, and they imposed this name immediately from their resemblance to the appearance of the Heavens, considered as to their convexity. And that they were consider'd thus is plain from Ovid's remark "*convexaque Cœli*:" And which from our Zenith seem to decline on every side till terminated by the Horizon. The Latins call'd Heaven *Cœlum* from *κοιλον* i. e. the *hollow*, considering it as a concave. But the Teutonic in *himmel* and *hemel* has looked upon them as a *covering*, and the Germans yet call a bedtester *himmel* from its *covering* the *bed*, as they call the Heavens *himmel*, from their *covering* the *Earth*. And that antiquity looked upon them as a *covering* also is evident from "*Cœlum quod omnia tegit*." This initial *him* or *hem* in *himmel*, is the old Saxon *helm*, * only the liquid *l* is dropt, as with us in talk, walk, &c. first in pronounciation, as with us; after in orthography, as with them. And this word *helm*, and all its relations ever imply *covering*; hence *helmet*, to *cover* the head; *home*, to cover a family, &c. and in the rura of this county, they commonly call a little *shed*, wherein are put instruments of husbandry, a *helm*. So peasehame and house regard the very same thing, implying covering; and so does a *sheep cote*, a cottage, and cote, our upper garment, which are from the British *coed*, a wood, the most antient covering.

* If this Saxon *helm* is not the Hebrew *שֶׁל* *shell*, the skins of beasts, which were the antient covering of mankind, I know not whence it is.

The

The final *el* in *himmel* is the radical of the Latin *altus*, just as the Celtic *ard*, high, is that of the Latin *arduus*. *Himmel* then signifies, the *lofty covering*. The syllable *don* or *dun* mons that concludes *hamildun*, is so notorious, that it wants no illustration; hence the downs, and the hills in Surry; and hence *Lugdunum Battavorum*, &c. But here one may observe that *himmel* was not a name applied to hills, as to any *covering*, but only as they were thought to resemble the appearance of the sky, which is so.

The hills call'd *Hamilton* are that, where are the races near *Gormire*; that near *Kirkbymalzeard*; one near *Tadeaster*, another towards *Kendal*.

EBORACUM, If it is evident, as I conclude it is, that *Ber*, or *Ver*, originally signifying a well, was afterwards applied to the stream usually flowing from it, it seems to me to enter into the composition of *Eboracum*. *Bor* here really appears no more than the ancient *ber* or *bir*, so generally used among the Celts, and that exility of sound in the *e* or *i*, a Roman ear, or some peculiarity of dialect, might easily change into an *o*. For the Romans, I believe, seldom, if ever, absolutely altered the ancient names of people, cities, rivers, places, &c. but often stripped them of some barbarities, smoothed their asperities, and gave them a more harmonious pronunciation. The initial letter *e* is

a Celtic article, and appears among the Celts, situated at a great distance from one another, with no material variation; as the *Iberus* in Spain, *Isurium* with us, &c.

The Brigantes were also called *Wicci*, from their being collected in little villages, and hence *wic* is a very usual termination in many of them. *Ac* in *Eboracum*, seems nothing but this Celtic *wic*, *wic*, *wic*, or *wig*; which is probably the radix of the Latin *vicus*, *viculus*, &c. and not differenced but by the termination, which means nothing. 'Tis very likely the Greek *ωαγος* also; for the people of the North have sometimes pronounced *ω* as a *W*, which is a letter particular to the North. And formerly here, as among the Romans of old, the articulation, as well as orthography of *u* and *v* was as little distinguished as observed. For the Romans said and writ either *sylvæ* or *sylvæ*: And yet, in Surry, the populace never do, or scarcely can pronounce *v*, but constantly substitute for it *u* or *w*, saying *uinegar* or *winegar* for *vinegar*; pronouncing *v*, as we do the Greek *μνος*. This *wic* was so common among the Anglo-Saxons, that instances would be needless and tedious; and this was from very antient usage; for in the Feroes, so far detached from the continent, and who maintained little or no commerce with strangers, we find *Boardeviig*, *Joteviig*, *Qualviig*, &c. The first appropriation of *wig* or *wic* seems to have been to places upon the sea-shore, and
banks

banks of rivers, as in Eboracum, &c. but in length of time it became applicable to places near neither. *Wic* has spread far and wide: it occurs in Germany, and is met with in the Iberian *Vigo* too; and the Romans themselves used *c* and *g* either promiscuously or successively, as appears from the inscription upon the Duilian pillar, where is read *pugnando* for *pugnando*. The final *um* is nothing but a termination suiting the genius of the Latin.

T H E
M E L S U P P E R,
A N D
SHOUTING the CHURN.

THESE rural entertainments and usages were formerly more general all over England, than they are at present; being become by time, necessity, or avarice, complex, confined, and altered. They are commonly insisted upon by the reapers as customary things, and a part of their due for the toils of harvest, and complied with by their masters perhaps more through regards of interest, than inclination. For should they refuse them the pleasures of this much-expected time, this festal night, the youth especially, of both sexes, would decline serving them for the future, and employ their labours for others, who would promise them the rustic joys of the harvest supper, mirth, and music, dance, and song.

These

These feasts appear to be the relicts of Pagan ceremonies, or of Judaism, it is hard to say whether, and carry in them more meaning, and are of far higher antiquity than is generally apprehended. It is true, the subject is more *curious* than *important*, and, I believe, altogether untouched; and as it seems to be little understood, has been as little adverted to. I do not remember it to have been so much as the subject of conversation. Let us make then a little excursion into this field, for the same reason men sometimes take a walk.

Its traces are discoverable at a very great distance of time from ours, nay, seem as old as a sense of joy for the benefit of plentiful harvests, and human gratitude to the eternal Creator for his munificence to men.

We hear it under various names in different counties, and often in the same county; as, *melt-supper*, *churn supper*, *harvest supper*, *harvest home*, *feast of ingathering*, &c. And perhaps this feast had been long observed, and by different tribes of people, before it became preceptive with the Jews. However, let that be as it will, the custom very lucidly appears from the following passages of S. S. Exod. xxiii. 16. אֲשֶׁר תֹּרַע בְּשֹׂרָה *Ve chag haketser* becuré maoshéka asher tizra bashadeh, *i. e. And the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field.* And its institution as a sacred rite is commanded, Levit. xxiii. 39. יְהוָה *Beasaph-kem*

Kem eth tebueth harets tachaggueth chag Yehovah, *i. e.* *When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast to the Lord.*

The Jews then, as is evident from hence, celebrated the feast of harvest, and that by precept; and though no vestiges of any such feast either are or can be produced before these, yet the oblation of the Primitiæ, of which this feast was a consequence, is met with prior to this; for Gen. iv. 3. we find, that קֵין מִפְרֵי הָאֲדָמָה כִּנְחָה לַיהוָה Cain miphere hadamah mincha la Yehovah, *i. e.* *Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord.*

Yet the offering of the first fruits, it may well be supposed, was not peculiar to the Jews, either at the time of, or after its establishment by their legislator; neither the feast in consequence of it. Many other nations, either in imitation of the Jews, or rather by tradition from their several Patriarchs, observing the rite of offering their Primitiæ, and of solemnizing a festival after it, in religious acknowledgment for the blessing of harvest, though that acknowledgment was ignorantly misapplied, in being directed to a secondary, not the primary fountain of that benefit, namely to Apollo, or the sun.

For Callimachus affirms, that these Primitiæ were sent by the people of every nation to the temple of Apollo in Delos, the most distant that enjoyed the happiness of corn and harvest, even by
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the Hyperboreans in particular, Hymn to Apollo:
Οἱ μὲντοι καλάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δραγμάτα πρὸς τοὺς
ἀσάνων, *i. e.* "Bring the sacred sheafs, and the
"mystic offerings."

Herodotus also mentions this annual custom of
the Hyperboreans, remarking, that those of De-
los talk of ἱερὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν ἐξ
ὑπερβορέων, *i. e.* "Holy things tied up in a sheaf
"of wheat conveyed from the Hyperboreans."
And the Jews, by command of their law, offered
also a *sheaf*, Lev. xxiii. 10 the original has קצרתם
את קציר העומר והנחתם את עבר דאשית קצירכם אל
Ukets artem eth ketsirah va hacatem eth omer re-
shith ketfircem el ha cohen, *i. e.* *And shall reap
the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of
the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest.*

This is not introduced in proof of any feast ob-
served by the people, who had harvests, but to
show the universality of the custom of offering the
Primitivæ, which preceded this feast. But yet it
may be looked upon as equivalent to a proof, for
as the offering and the feast appear to have been
always and intimately connected in countries af-
fording records, so it is more than probable, they
were connected too in countries who had none,
or none that ever survived to our times. An en-
tertainment and gaitry were still the concomitants
of these rites, which, with the vulgar, one may
pretty truly suppose, were esteemed the most ac-
ceptable and material part of them, and a great
reason of their having subsisted through such a
length

length of ages, when both the populace, and many of the learned too, have lost sight of the object to which they had been originally directed. This, among many other ceremonies of the heathen worship, became disused in some places, and retained in others, but continued still declining, after the promulgation of the gospel. In short, there seems great reason to conclude, that this feast, which was once sacred to Apollo, was constantly maintained, when a far less valuable circumstance, i. e. *shouting the churn*, is observed to this day by the reapers, and from so old an æra; for we read of this acclamation, Isa. xvi. 9 וְעַל קִצְדָּךְ הָדָד נָפַל בִּי עַל קִרְיָךְ Cī al kitlich ve al kiserach ha ya-
did naphal, i. e. *For the shouting for thy summer fruits, and for thy harvest is fallen*. And again, ver. 10 וּבְכִרְמִים לֹא יִרְנָן לֹא יִרְעֵנָה הָדָד הַשְׂכֵּמֶת לֹא
Ubaccramini lo yerunnan lo yirsa ha yadad hish-
eati lo, i. e. *And in the vineyards there shall be no singing, their shouting shall be no shouting*.

Hence then, or from some of the Phœnician colonies is our traditionary *shouting the churn*. But it seems these orientals shouted both for joy of their harvest of grapes, and of corn. We have no quantity of the first to occasion so much of joy, as does our plenty of the last; and I do not remember to have heard whether their vintages abroad are attended with this custom.

Bread or cakes composed part of the Hebrew offering, Levit. xxiii. 13 and a cake thrown upon the head of the victim, was also part of the Greek offering

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offering to Apollo (see Hom. II. α) whose worship was formerly celebrated in Britain, where the *May-pole* yet continues one remain of it. This they adorned with garlands on May-day, to welcome the approach of Apollo, or the sun, towards the North, and to signify that those flowers were the product of his presence and influence. But upon the progress of Christianity, as was observed above, Apollo lost his divinity again, and the adoration of his deity subsided by degrees. Yet so permanent is custom, that this rite of the harvest supper, together with that of the May pole, (of which last see Voss. de orig. et prog. Idolatr. l. 2) have been preserved in Britain; and what had been antiently offered to the god, the reapers as prudently eat up themselves.

At last the use of the meal of new corn was neglected, and the supper, so far as meal was concerned, was made indifferently of old or new corn, as was most agreeable to the founder.

And here the usage itself accounts for the name of Melsupper (where *mel* signifies *meal*, or else the instrument called with us a *mell*, wherewith antiquity reduced their corn to meal in a mortar, which still amounts to the same thing) for provisions of *meal*, or of corn in firmity, &c. composed by far the greatest part in these elder and country entertainments, perfectly conformable to the simplicity of those times, places, and persons, however meanly they may now be looked upon. And as the harvest was *last* concluded with several preparations of *meal*, or brought to be ready for the
mell

mell, this term became, in a translated signification, to mean the *last* of other things; as when a horse comes last in the race, they often say in the North, *he has got the mell*.

All the other names of this country festivity sufficiently explain themselves, except *Churnsupper*, and this is entirely different from *mellsupper*; but they generally happen so near together, that they are frequently confounded. The churnsupper was always provided when all was shorn, but the mellsupper after all was got in. And it was called the churnsupper, because from immemorial times, it was customary to produce in a churn a great quantity of cream, and to circulate it by dishes to each of the rustic company, to be eaten with bread. And here sometimes very extraordinary executions have been done upon cream.

And though this custom has been disused in many places, and agreeably commuted for by *ale*, yet it survives still, and that about Whitby and Scarbrough in the East, and round about Gisburn, &c. in Craven, in the West. But perhaps a century or two more will put an end to it, and both the *thing* and *name* shall die. Vicarious ale is now more approved, and the *tankard* almost every where politely preferred to the *churn*.

This churn (in our provincial pronunciation kern) is the Hebrew כֶּרֶן kern or keren, from its being circular, like most horns: And it is the Latin *corona*, named so either from its radii, resembling

blinshorns, as on some very antient coins, or from its incircling the head; so a ring of people is called *corona*. Also the Celtic *koren*, *keren*, or *corn*, which continues according to its old pronunciation in Cornwall, &c. and our modern word *horn* is no more than this; the antient hard sound of *k* in *corn* being softened into the aspirate *h*, as has been done in numberless instances. The Irish Celtae also call a round stone clogh *crene*, where the variation is merely dialectic. Hence too our *crane* berries, i. e. *round* berries, from this Celtic adjective *crene*, round.

I

A N

A N
E L E G Y

On the Death of
Sir JOHN ARMITAGE, Bart.
Who died gloriously in the Service of his Country.

Humbly inscribed
*To the Remains of that Antient and Respectable
Family.*

STRIKE, strike the bosom, touch the vocal string,
Bring funeral Euge, the funeral Cypress bring.
The strain be mournful; let the feet move slow;
The numbers ling'ring with their weight of woe.

Not with more grief great Maro's breast did swell,
When glorious with his legions Varus fell;
Not Troy felt more resentment, more of pain,
When Troy beheld her matchless Hector slain;
Than feels thy country. Tell us, was thy fate
Or more illustrious, or unfortunate?
Thy arms almost alone the foes impeach;
Thou stoodst like Scæva in the dangerous breach.
Slain, but not vanquish'd, fallen, but not fled;
That ground thou kept alive, thou kept when dead.

Haft

Hast thou obtained thy laurels with the pall?
 Didst thou more bravely dare, or greatly fall?
 Calder with sadder murmurs rolls his floods,
 And deeper gloom invests thy Kirklees woods.
 France too deplores thee little less than we;
 And Britain's Genius gave a sigh for thee.

What tho' no wife's, tho' no fond mother's eyes
 Grow dim with grief, whose transports pierce the
 skies;

What tho' no pomp, no pious dirge, no friend
 Wait thee with tears, nor solemn priest attend;
 O yet be happy, thy sad sisters here
 Bewail thy loss with sorrows too sincere;
 And falls in silence the fraternal tear. }
 Sleep, much lamented; while thy country pays
 Mingled with sighs the tribute of her praise.

Suppress those sighs, and wipe the humid eye;
 Her sons nor fall in vain, nor unreveng'd shall die.
 When her loud thunders reach the hostile shore,
 Swift as the winds, and like the billows roar,
 What vigils must repentant Gallia keep?
 What hostile eyes must close, what fair ones weep?

Remorseless War, how fatal to the brave!
 Wild as rough seas, voracious as the grave.
 Blind, when thou strikes; deaf, when distress com-
 plains;
 What tears can whiten thy empurpl'd stains?
 Waste waits thy steps, as southern breezes showers;
 Like floods thou rages, and like floods devours.
 Fear flies before thee, thou relentless hears
 The virgin's prayer, and sees the mother's tears.
 Sink down, be chain'd, thrice execrable War,
 Extinct thy torch, or flame from Britain far.

Breathe we where blifs in flow'ry vales is found;
 Soft spring, glow near me; rural sweets, be round.
 Perennial waters, which the rock distills;
 The shaded villa, and the sunny hills;
 Long wand'ring shores, the voice of falling floods;
 The *gale* of odours, and the *night* of woods.

These lost to thee, for these accept of fame;
 Thy Kirklees smiles she yet can boast the name.
 Rank'd with the great thy fragrant name shall be;
 Rome had her *Decius*, the Brigantes *Thee*.

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Insonuère cavæ gemitumque dedire Cavernæ. VIRG.

FOR these dread walls, sad sorrow's dark domain,
For cells resounding with the voice of pain,
Where fear, pale power, his dreary mansion keeps,
And grief unpity'd hangs her head, and weeps,
What muse would leave her springs, and myrtle
shades,

The groves of Pindus, and th'Aonian glades?
The hallow'd pines that nod on Ida's brow,
And fens that spread eternal May below?
Or comes the nymph, she soon averts her eyes,
And but bestows one transient look, and flies.
In vain would I ascend, too weak my wings;
In vain the plectrum strikes the sleeping strings;
They wake no more. The fires that *blaz'd*, but
glows;

The muse, the lyre, and all are mute — but foes.
While my small barque, by sable tempests tost,
Lies wreck'd on an inhospitable coast;
Bleak rocks the place, and clouds the skies infold;
Storms follow storms, and seas on seas are roll'd.
Yet, if the fates be kind, and you, this lay,
Daughters of Isis, * with a smile survey;
If while you gild the moments as they rise,
Suppliant I make your soft regards my prize,
Farewel, Pyrene, once so lov'd, and you,
Pierian sisters, tuneful maids, adieu:
For ever I your feeble aid decline,
Come, lucid stars, fair northern lights, be mine.
Whose *graces* lull life's cares, or *wit* removes;
Whose virtues charm me, and whose sense improves.

* The Ouse, that runs thro' York.

From

From you springs each sweet hope, each gleam of
joy;

Each dearer name, and every social tie.

You, my bright subject all to transport turns;

My breast with more than mortal ardor burns.

Rapt into years to come, the muse's eyes,
Behold your future sons illustrious rise;
Patriots, and chiefs, renown'd for war and laws,
Warm in their country's, and in virtue's cause.
When time another crop of foes shall bear,
Another Th—rnt—n shall in arms appear;
Another C—mb—rl—d shall rise, and save;
His soul as honest, and his heart as brave.
Some Sl—ngsb— * curb again rebellious rage,
Some Ing—lb— † again his prince's ear engage.
Mahon once more shall British troops receive,
What St—nh—p won, a St—nh—p shall retrieve.
Some harp for Coptgrave's hapless youth ‡ be strung,
And Albion's rocks repeat what *Deering* sung.
Some future bard in R—ndh—lls shall commend
The breast humane, the scholar, and the friend.
Lamhill § shall bid its fadeless laurels grow,
To shade some N—rt—n's, Garth's, or Plaxton's brow.
The sacred page some Walton shall review,
Some Wanley clear the Runic line anew.

* A fine gentleman of this family, in arms for the King,
fell at Marston-Moor.

† See Chauncy's Hertfordshire, in St. Albans, where lies
a worthy baronet of this family.

‡ A young gentleman of great abilities, of great hopes,
and once my friend, who dy'd in the expedition to Cartha-
gena.

§ A seat of the old and worthy family of the Beck-
withs.

The

The trumpet's sound shall die, and discord cease,
 Thou, Britain, flourish in the arts of peace.
 Fairest of Ocean's daughters, and his pride,
 Safe in thy oaks, with Neptune on thy side;
 Who, fond to bless thee, with his Thames has crown'd,
 And, pleas'd to guard thee, pours his seas around.
 The wounds of war thy commerce soon shall cure
 That peace thy fleets command, thy P-tt assure.

Come, gentle peace, propitious goddess, come,
 Thy olive bring; let all, but mirth, be dumb.
 What blessings reach us, which thou dost not give?
 Thou fled, is it to suffer, or to live?
 Thy sweet recess, thy happy ports to gain,
 Plow'd is the verdant, plow'd the watry plain.
 For thee, this swelters under Lybia's suns;
 That sails and shivers where the Volga runs.
 To thy soft arms thro' death itself we flee,
 Battles, and camps, and fields, and victory,
 Are but the rugged steps that lead to thee.

For thee, kind showers distill, the meads to chear,
 Or bend in old Isurium's fields the ear;
 For thee, the streams make gay the banks they lave;
 The soft breeze whispers, and the green woods
 wave.

All these I see, as sailors see the shore,
 And sing, secluded, scenes I tread no more.
 Nor stars, nor chearful suns I now behold,
 Languid with want, and pale with polar cold.

Where smiles Elyzium? where those happier skies,
 Where after death, superior virtue flies.
 Where wrongs, nor night, nor torments they de-
 plore;
 The sigh forgotten, and the tear no more.

What

The

What passage to the blissful meadows guides?
 What horrors guard it, or what covert hides?

Thus to the Getæ, in a barbarous throng,
 The last sad numbers flow'd from Nasō's tongue.
 The Thracian thus, whose harp bewail'd his wife,
 Torn by the mad Bacchantes, lost his life:
 The strains that Hell had pleas'd, they disregard;
 And snatch'd the life, that softer Pluto spar'd.

T H E E N D.



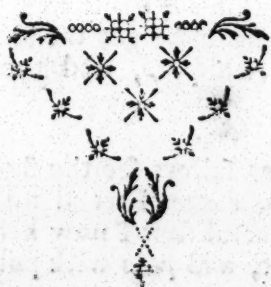
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